

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BUJUMB 00868 01 OF 02 170652Z

12

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-07 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10 EUR-12 AGR-05 /093 W

----- 065587

R 161300Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5124

INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUJUMBURA 0868

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EAID, PFOR, BY

SUBJECT: INCLUSION OF BURUNDI IN FY 1977 AID REQUEST

REF: STATE 264693

1. SINCE THE DECISION EARLY IN NOVEMBER COMMUNICATED BY REFTEL THAT "FOR TIME BEING" DEPARTMENT WOULD NOT REQUEST AID/W TO INCLUDE BILATERAL ASSISTANCE REQUEST FOR BURUNDI IN FY 1977 BUDGET SUBMISSION, WE HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY SURVEYING RELEVANT DEVELOPMENTS TO FIND THE "NEW FACTORS", WHICH DEPARTMENT INDICATED WOULD MAKE IT "WILLING TO REVIEW THIS MATTER AGAIN CLOSER TO JANUARY DEADLINE". IT IS OF COURSE EVIDENT THAT LONG-STANDING CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS IN A SLOW MOVING SOCIETY, SUCH AS BURUNDI, ARE NOT RPT NOT GOING TO UNDERGO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN A PERIOD OF FIVE WEEKS. NEVERTHELESS, I AM AGAIN TAKING UP THE CUDGELS AND URGING A REVERSAL OF THAT DECISION BOTH BECAUSE THERE HAVE BEEN SOME NEW EXTERNAL EVENTS BEARING ON BURUNDI, AND BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT OUR EARLIER DECISION DOES NOT RPT NOT BEST SERVE AMERICAN INTERESTS HERE.

2. THERE IS NO POINT IN REVIEWING IN DEPTH THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF BURUNDI'S INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SITUATION, WHICH WERE DESCRIBED FULLY IN BUJUMBURA 747 AND 533, THE TWO EARLIER
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BUJUMB 00868 01 OF 02 170652Z

CABLES ATTEMPTING TO PERSUADE THE DEPARTMENT TO FAVOR U.S.

AID FOR BURUNDI. HOWEVER A FEW SALIENT POINTS BEAR REPEATING:

A. BURUNDI IS NOT BASICALLY DIFFERENT FROM A SCORE OF OTHER NATIONS THAT, ALONG WITH IT, ARE THE WORLD'S POOREST COUNTRIES. IT RUNS WITH THE AFRICAN HERD ON UNGA VOTING; IT PLAYS OAU POLITICS; IT IS RULED BY A TINY, SELF-AGGRANDIZING ELITE; AND IT HAS HAD AN ALL TOO GOODLY SHARE OF DOMESTIC TENSIONS AND DISORDERS.

B. THE PROSPECTS FOR A CONTINUATION OF THE DOMESTIC STABILITY WHICH HAS PREVAILED FOR THE LAST TWO YEARS ARE VERY STRONG. WHILE THIS ENSURES THAT TUTSI DOMINANCE WILL CONTINUE, IT ALSO MEANS THAT MODERATE TUTSIS ARE FEELING SUFFICIENTLY SECURE TO PUSH CAUTIOUS POLICIES OF ETHNIC RECONCILIATION WITH THE HUTU MAJORITY AND OF GRADUAL HUTU REINTEGRATION INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF BURUNDI'S SMALL MODERNIZED SECTOR.

C. AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THIS COUNTRY WILL PROBABLY GROW WITH THE LIKELIHOOD OF LARGE SCALE AMERICAN PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN MINERALS PROJECTS OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS, AND THIS WILL MAKE IT DESIRABLE TO HAVE CLOSER AND MORE NORMAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE REGIME.

D. MODEST BILATERAL AID PROJECTS CAN REFURBISH A TARNISHED IMAGE OF U.S. GOODWILL, CAN GIVE US GREATER ACCESS TO OFFICIALDOM FOR ARGUING FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES, CAN ENHANCE OUR ABILITY TO PROTECT INTERESTS OF AMERICAN INVESTORS AND MISSIONARIES IN BURUNDI, AND, CAN, IF IN THE FOOD PRODUCTION SECTOR, DIRECTLY BENEFIT THE DOWNTRODDEN PEASANTS, ABOVE ALL HUTU, IN WHICH WE HAVE THE GREATEST HUMANITARIAN INTEREST.

3. IN ADDITION TO THE FOREGOING, I OFFERED, IN BUJUMBURA 747, WHAT I THOUGHT WAS AN ACCURATE EXEGESIS OF THE SECRETARY'S SEPTEMBER 23 SPEECH TO OAU REPRESENTATIVES AT THE UNGA. ITO SEEMED TO ME THAT HIS COMPASSIONATE APPROACH TO NATIONS BESET WITH RACIAL PROBLEMS AND INTERNAL STRAINS APPLIED DIRECTLY TO BURUNDI. SO DID HIS REFERENCES TO AMERICAN DETERMINATION TO AID THE WORLD'S POOREST LANDS, ESPECIALLY IN THE CRITICAL AREA OF FOOD PRODUCTION. THE DEPARTMENT DID NOT RPT NOT APPEAR CONVINCED BY THE ANALOGIES, BUT I MUST
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BUJUMB 00868 01 OF 02 170652Z

SAY THAT I REMAIN UNRECONSTRUCTED IN MY INTERPRETATION OF OUR BASIC POLICY. SINCE THE SECRETARY'S ADDRESS, WE HAVE HAD PRECISELY THE SAME SENTIMENTS VOICED IN THE NEW FOREIGN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AUTHORIZATION ACT; AND ASSISTANT AID DIRECTOR SCOTT, AT HIS SWEARING-IN, SAID THAT PRESIDENT FORD HAD INSTRUCTED HIM TO HELP AFRICA SOLVE ITS PROBLEMS. ON THE SAME OCCASION, AID DIRECTOR PARKER NOTED THE UPWARD LEAP OF AID FUNDS FOR AFRICA AND GAVE A RATIONALE FOR THIS WHICH

WOULD CERTAINLY APPLY TO BURUNDI. OUR CULTURAL CENTER IN BUJUMBURA CHURNS OUT ALL OF THESE HIGH-SOUNDING AND ENTICING STATEMENTS IN ENDLESS BULLETINS, AND WE DULY SHIP THEM TO HIGH-LEVEL BURUNDI READERS. WHAT CAN THEY THINK WHEN NONE OF THESE WORDS SEEM TO HAVE THE SLIGHTEST RELEVANCE FOR BURUNDI, EXCEPT EITHER THAT WE ARE HYPOCRITES, OR ELSE THAT WE BEAR THEM EXCEPTIONAL ILL WILL. CERTAINLY, THEY WILL NOT ASCRIBE OUR STANDOFFISHNESS TO THEIR UNGA VOTING RECORD (WHICH IS IDENTICAL WITH MOST AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHERE WE GIVE AID), OR TO THEIR ETHNIC PROBLEMS (WHICH NOWADAYS PRODUCE NO TURMOIL AND WHICH, IN ANY CASE, ARE NOT RPT NOT QUALITATIVELY DIFFERENT FROM TRIBAL OR POLITICAL OPPRESSION IN OTHER SPOTS IN AFRICA AND ASIA, WHERE OUR AID-GIVING RECORD SHOWS MUCH LESS SQUEAMISHNESS).

4. IT IS INDEED PERTINENT TO NOTE HOW TOTALLY ISOLATED WE ARE IN OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD BURUNDI. APART FROM THE DONOR RELATIONSHIPS OF COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, BELGIUM, WEST GERMANY, AND FRANCE HAVE ALL INCREASED THEIR PLANNED 1976 ASSISTANCE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BUJUMB 00868 02 OF 02 170644Z

12

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-07 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10 EUR-12 AGR-05 /093 W

----- 065507

R 161330Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5125

INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUJUMBURA 868

PROGRAMS FOR BURUNDI ABOVE THE SUMS NEEDED TO COMPENSATE FOR INFLATION (THE GERMANS BY 50 TO 75 PERCENT). THE EURORSAN DEVELOPMENT FUND WILL GO UP FROM ABOUT DOLS 8 TO DOLS 13 MILLION PER YEAR WITH THE NEW FIVE YEAR PERIOD STARTING 1976. UNDP IS PLANNING A JUMP FROM ABOUT DOLS 2 TO DOLS 3.6 MILLION ANNUALLY BEGINNING IN 1977. YET, WITH ALL

THIS AID, THERE IS STILL A GREAT GAP IN PROMOTING FOOD PRODUCTION PROJECTS, DESPITE SUBSTANTIAL GOVERNMENT INTEREST IN THIS FIELD.

5. OUR SEVERELY NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD BURUNDI HAS PROMPTED SEVERAL EUROPEANS IN BUJUMBURA (AND ONE EMBOFF AS WELL) TO MUSE ABOUT THE REASONS THAT THE U.S. BOTHERS TO MAINTAIN AN EMBASSY IN BURUNDI AT ALL. IS IT A SORT OF MINDLESS AND AUTOMATIC IMITATION OF WHAT WE DO IN ALMOST EVERY OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRY, WITHOUT ANY THOUGHT OF WHETHER ANY AMERICAN PURPOSE OR INTEREST IS BEING SERVED, OR WHETHER ANY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AIMS ARE BEING PURSUED? OR IS IT RATHER, AS I CERTAINLY ASSUME, THAT WE DO HAVE SOME MODEST INTERESTS AND THAT WE HAVE THE SAME LONG-TERM HOPES FOR BURUNDI'S MODERNIZATION AND ELEVATION TO DECENT HUMAN STANDARDS AS WE DO FOR OTHER MOST UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS. ARE A HUNDRED OR SO AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AND FAMILIES ENTIRELY ON THEIR OWN HERE, OR DO WE WANT TO PROTECT THEM AND FURTHER THEIR EXTENSIVE SCHOOLS AND MEDICAL SERVICES? ARE WE SERIOUS ABOUT

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BUJUMB 00868 02 OF 02 170644Z

IMPROVING THE HUMAN RIGHTS CLIMATE IN BURUNDI BOTH BY ESTABLISHING A REPUTATION AS FRIENDS OF THE REGIME WHO, FROM TIME TO TIME, HAVE HELPFUL ADVICE TO GIVE ON ETHNIC MATTERS, AND BY UNDERTAKING SOME PROJECTS OF DIRECT BENEFIT TO THE HUTU DOWNTRODDEN? WILL WE WANT TO BE IN A POSITION TO PROTECT AND NATURE THE PRIVATE AMERICAN INVESTMENTS IN MINERALS EXTRACTION THAT WE ALL SEE COMING? ARE WE GOING THROUGH THE MEANINGLESS MOTIONS OF ASKING FOR BURUNDI'S HELP ON UNGA VOTING ISSUES, OR DO WE REALLY WANT TO HAVE A BASIS, AS AN AID DONOR AND SYMPATHETIC FRIEND, FOR MAKING A SERIOUS APPROACH?

6. IN THE LATTER REGARD, A CONVERSATION WHICH I HAD WITH NEW FOREIGN MINISTER BWAKIRA ON DECEMBER 4 IS INSTRUCTIVE. I OFFERED HIM A QUICK TOUR D'HORIZON OF U.S. GOVERNMENT PROBLEMS WITH BURUNDI'S FOREIGN POLICY STANCE AND HOW IT HAD ADVERSELY AFFECTED THE CHANCES OF AN AID PROGRAM. HE TOOK NOTES ON ALL OF MY SPECIFIC COMPLAINTS, BUT, WHEN IT CAME TO KOREA, HE MERELY ASKED HOW WE COULD EXPECT BURUNDI TO DO ANYTHING BUT SUPPORT NORTH KOREA, WHEN THE LATTER WAS FRIENDLY AND GAVE AID TO BURUNDI. THIS MAY BE A CRASS, MATERIALISTIC REACTION TO WHICH THE POVERTY-STRICKEN ARE ADDICTED, BUT IT EXPRESSES THE FEELING THAT AN AID PROGRAM IS FOR THEM LIKE A U.S. VISA TO AN ALIEN FOR US; IT DOES NOT RPT NOT GUARANTEE THE ALIEN ADMISSION TO THE U.S., BUT IT GIVES HIM THE RIGHT TO GET TO AN IMMIGRATION OFFICER TO PRESENT HIS CASE FOR ADMISSION. PRESIDENT MICOMBERO, IN HIS NOVEMBER 28 HOLIDAY SPEECH, STRESSED THE SAME THING WHEN HE THANKED ALL THE FOREIGN DONORS TO BURUNDI (WITHOUT NAMING ANYONE), AND THEN ADDED THAT THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAD

DONE NOTHING AND YET WANTED TO BE FRIENDS, SHOULD EXAMINE THEIR CONSCIENCES AND TAKE THE PLUNGE. I BELIEVE TOO THAT IT IS TIME FOR THE U.S. TO JOIN THE QUEUE OF DONORS WHO CAN AT LEAST GET SOME ATTENTION FOR THEIR CASE ON VARIOUS QUESTIONS.

APART FROM EVERYTHING ELSE, I AM SURE THAT WE WILL NEED TO BE IN SUCH A POSITION SOONER OR LATER TO ADD OUR WEIGHT TO ZAIRE'S IN KEEPING BURUNDI FROM STRAYING ONTO THE MPLA RESERVATION IN THE ANGOLA MESS.

7. WE HAVE ALREADY EXPRESSED OUR GRATITUDE TO THE DEPARTMENT (BUJUMBURA 858) FOR THE NEWS IN STATE 292024 THAT THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BUJUMB 00868 02 OF 02 170644Z

FREEZE ON DEALINGS WITH BURUNDI DOES NOT RPT NOT ANY LONGER EXTEND TO HUMANITARIAN AND POPULATION PLANNING PROJECTS, OR PRESUMABLY TO SELF-HELP PROGRAMS. I MOST STRONGLY URGE THE DEPARTMENT NOW TO TAKE THE NEXT LOGICAL STEP AND BRING BURUNDI BACK INTO THE FAMILY OF AFRICAN NATIONS (FROM WASHINGTON'S POINT OF VIEW) BY ADDING ITS NAME TO THE LIST OF AID RECIPIENTS IN THE FY 1977 BUDGET SUBMISSION BEFORE IT IS SENT TO THE HILL IN JANUARY. I HAVE NOTED IN EARLIER MESSAGES THAT I DID NOT THINK SUCH AN INCLUSION WOULD GIVE RISE TO SIGNIFICANT NEGATIVE CONGRESSIONAL REACTIONS, AND THAT I THOUGHT WE COULD EASILY HANDLE ANY QUESTIONS THAT WERE RAISED ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS THEME.

8. MORE THAN THAT, I SHOULD LIKE TO ARGUE THAT THE APPEARANCE OF BURUNDI'S NAME IN PRINT IN AN EXECUTIVE BRANCH SUBMISSION TO CONGRESS WILL, FOR THE FIRST TIME, GIVE THIS EMBASSY SOME CONCRETE LEVERAGE IN ITS DISCUSSIONS AND DEALINGS WITH BURUNDI OFFICIALDOM. THIS SHOULD HAVE SOME EFFECT AT TOP LEVELS BECAUSE IN PRIVATE CHATS LATELY WITH EMBOFFS, MICOMBERO AND VARIOUS MINISTERS HAVE SPECIFICALLY ASKED US TO GET A BILATERAL U.S. AID EFFORT GOING AND THERE IS NO DOUBT OF THE REGIME'S INTEREST IN, AND DESIRE NOT TO UPSET, SUCH A POSSIBILITY. IT IS AXIOMATIC THAT THE U.S. IS UNDER NO OBLIGATION TO EXPEND MONEY IN ANY COUNTRY JUST BECAUSE FUNDS HAVE BEEN APPROPRIATED, AND THAT WOULD BE TRUE IN BURUNDI'S CASE AS WELL. HOWEVER, THE PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE HERE OF POSSIBLE ADMINISTRATION INTENTIONS WOULD TRANSFORM HERETOFORE THEORETICAL NOTIONS OF AMERICAN AID INTO A TANGIBLE POTENTIAL, WHICH MIGHT ENGENDER A MORE SERIOUS ATTITUDE TO U.S. CONCERNS. IN OTHER WORDS, WE SHOULD MOVE AHEAD ON THE LEGISLATIVE SIDE NOW, ALTHOUGH WE WILL STILL HAVE LATITUDE, DEPENDING ON DEVELOPMENTS OVER THE NEXT SIX MONTHS OR SO, TO DECIDE ON IMPLEMENTATION.

MARK

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BUDGETS, POLITICAL STABILITY, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, NEGOTIATIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 DEC 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: buchant0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975BUJUMB00868
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750438-0271
From: BUJUMBURA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751237/aaaabgee.tel
Line Count: 275
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 STATE 264693
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: buchant0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25 AUG 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <25 AUG 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <09 DEC 2003 by buchant0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: INCLUSION OF BURUNDI IN FY 1977 AID REQUEST
TAGS: EAID, PFOR, BY
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006